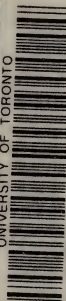


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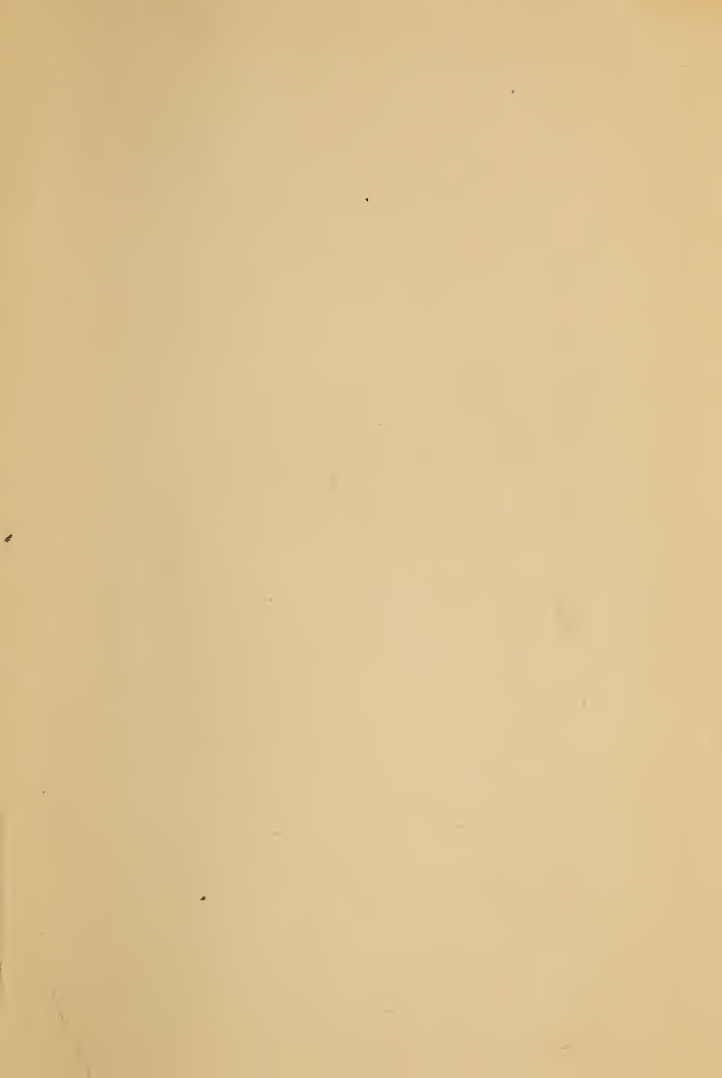
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EUROPE IN THE AGE
OF NAPOLEON

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I

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

IT is almost impossible not to think of European history otherwise than as being divided into periods. The last two hundred and more years fall neatly, first, into the eighteenth century, which is usually taken to begin with 1715 (the death of Louis Quatorze); second, the period of war, of political, social, and intellectual disturbances, which began with the French Revolution in 1789 and ended with the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815; thirdly, the nineteenth century, which, as an historical period, endures from 1815 to the opening of the Great War in 1914; the years of the war and the post-war have as yet earned no distinctive title.

The period 1789-1815 was a great formative era. Potent ideas were spread about and took root, although they did not bear fruit until the succeeding years. But this great formative period

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from 1789 to 1815 cannot be understood without some comprehension of that curious old world of the eighteenth century which preceded it.

The eighteenth century was a self-satisfied age, of tolerance and unbelief. The men of the age were not troubled by the problems of existence, nor were they painfully anxious to set the world aright. They believed in what Boswell, in his *Life of Dr. Johnson*, calls "the grand principle of subordination." Society was a fixed and settled thing. If there was misery, there was also happiness; and probably the misery could not be helped. The men of the eighteenth century were like the Cardinal in *John Inglesant*, who had cultivated his mind so that he could live with content and die with indifference, and who refused to be a reformer, saying: "Why should I embrace a life of restless annoyance and discomfort, of antagonism to existing systems of order, of certain failure, disappointment, and the peevish protestation of a prophet, to whom the world will not listen?"

These men, within the limits which they had set themselves, had solved the problem of existence. They took life as they found it, and were eminently practical. When Louis XIV., the most

powerful monarch and one of the grandest figures of the previous age, died, Addison (as he wrote in the *Spectator*) went round the political coffee-houses of London to hear people's comments. The typical comment he heard was from a man saying: "If the King of France is certainly dead, we shall have plenty of mackerel this season: our fishing will not be disturbed by privateers as it has been these ten years past." The critic went on to consider "how the death of this great man will affect our pilchards, and by several other remarks, infused a general joy into his whole audience."

In politics the outstanding feature of the eighteenth century on the Continent of Europe was a reaction against self-government or democracy. In the later Middle Ages and down to the end of the sixteenth century constitutions which were democratic, although only in a very limited sense, existed in most of the States of Continental Europe, as well as in England and Scotland. In the seventeenth century, however, the sovereigns began to take steps to suppress parliaments or "assemblies of estates." The French Crown was the first completely to succeed in this effort. In 1614 the Estates General

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of France, which had existed for over four hundred years, was dissolved, never to reappear until the fateful year 1789. The Spanish Cortes maintained a perfunctory life throughout the seventeenth century, but died off by the beginning of the eighteenth. Other Assemblies of Estates, in Sweden, in the separate provinces of Austria, and in certain other States, did, indeed, continue to live, but (except in the United Netherlands, the Swiss Confederation, Venice, Genoa, and a few Free Cities) monarchs wielded all the power.

While governments were autocratic throughout the eighteenth century, it cannot be said that they abused their power. Many of the autocrats anxiously served the State and did their best for the people; and these gained the name of "Benevolent Despots." The most famous were Frederick the Great of Prussia, Joseph II. of Austria, Catherine II. of Russia, and Charles III. of Spain. The spirit of public service and the zeal for governing inspired not only these great personalities; many of the little states, duchies, and principalities of Germany and Italy had hard-working, "enlightened" sovereigns, who reformed the courts of justice, founded schools and colleges,

constructed roads and bridges, freed their serfs, and patronised artists.

Aristocrats, too, were benevolent and enlightened. Great Britain had a Limited Monarchy; the administration of affairs was really in the hands of an aristocracy of great Whig families, who, although they drew high remuneration, also maintained a high ideal and practice of public service. In France there were many enlightened and progressive aristocrats like the Comte de Montesquieu (1689-1755), author of *L'Esprit des Loïs*. In Austria the great aristocratic family of Esterhazy handsomely patronised music, and supported Mozart and other rising musicians. Among the Italian nobility there were many *filosofi*. Nevertheless, although the aristocracies were not wholly unresponsive to the "enlightenment" that was coming over Western Europe, they failed to take anything like full advantage of it. The old French aristocrats were, as a whole, extravagant and given up to amusement. They danced and gambled down to the eve of the Revolution. The best of them belonged to the *noblesse de robe*, and these were really middle-class people, *bourgeoisie*, who had risen in the public service—the law, the civil service, the colonial administration—and who, gen-

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eration after generation, earned their living in these employments.

The intellectual movement was the most interesting feature of the eighteenth century. Every century in history has some special characteristic intellectual feature. That of the eighteenth century was the Romantic Movement. Literature and all the arts except music had been drawn into somewhat formal channels. Poetry, both in Great Britain and France, was, between 1700 and 1780, written nearly always in "heroic couplets," ten-syllabled rhyming verses, such as Alexander Pope composed. Plays were written to conform to the "unities."

Classical models were followed so far as possible, but the result was not to make art and letters free and splendid as in the time of the Renaissance, but to make them stiff and formal. This "formalism" was seen even in politics; the benevolent monarchs arranged their households and courts, their administrative departments and, so far as they could, the grades and orders among their people, according to fixed patterns. Society in the eighteenth century was tending to become rigid.

The Romantic Movement was a strong and

marked tendency away from this formalism, a tendency so strong as almost to be called a revolt. Men of powerful genius, of penetrating vision, of originality, began to write, to paint, to teach in new and fresh ways. The Romantic Movement is most marked, most easily recognised, in poetry. In place of heroic couplets and somewhat artificial themes, poets like Gray and Wordsworth went straight to Nature for their inspiration and composed their verses in whatever style they felt moved to write. Rousseau, a disorderly, erratic, but yet powerful genius, discovered the beauties of the Swiss mountains and described their loveliness in a style of singular grace and purity. Human sentiment, the common feelings that sway mankind, and which make the joys and sorrows, and when ennobled by virtue, make the essential greatness of mankind, were, with the love of Nature, the subject-matter of romantic writing. The young Goethe, when he published *The Sorrows of Werther* in 1774, made sentiment, sentimentalism even, fashionable in Western Europe. The Romantic Movement liberated the well-springs of natural human sentiment, and broke through the crust of an over-formalised, pseudo-classical system of art and letters. It gave to every living

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person, as it were, another life, a romantic world of literature which they could understand and sympathise with, and into which they could escape from the drab surroundings of their everyday existence. Sometimes this romantic world into which they went was a realm of Nature-poetry like that of Gray or Wordsworth, or it might be a realm of historical novels, like those of Scott. For Scott re-created the quaint and romantic world of the Middle Ages again for modern readers to roam in.

The Romantic Movement began in the eighteenth century before the French Revolution, and spread over into the nineteenth, when Scott and Wordsworth, Byron and Shelley, Stendhal and Chateaubriand did all or most of their work. The French Revolution was, in itself, in many respects, an expression on the political stage of this Romantic Movement.

II

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

CARLYLE begins his *History of the French Revolution* with old Louis XV. dying. This monarch was no benevolent despot, but just a hard, selfish, cold sinner, whose vices and extravagances went far to demoralise high life in France and to ruin the finances of the French Crown. His successor, his grandson, Louis XVI., was a kindly, rather shy man, interested in making watches and locks, desiring, too, in his dull, patient, unenterprising way, to serve his State and people. But France was already practically bankrupt when he came to the throne in 1774; and the War of American Independence, in which his Foreign Minister Vergennes persuaded him to engage, ruined all that was left of the French public finances. Successive ministers—Turgot, Calonne, Necker, and others—tried to restore the public credit. There was wealth in France; the country was prospering;

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but large numbers of the people escaped taxation, and the Government could not make them pay. The French people have never been good taxpayers. No nation more nobly sheds its blood for its country; but the habit of willing, or, at least, passive acceptance of direct taxation, has never been strongly developed in it. In the eighteenth century the whole numerous class of French nobles paid no direct taxes at all; the clergy, also a large and, taken as a whole, a wealthy class, did pay sums in direct taxation, but only at irregular intervals. Many towns or citizens of towns had, by ancient right or recent charter, been exempted from direct taxation. A heavy proportion of the public monies was raised by taxation of the poorest class of all, the peasantry of the provinces. They had to pay to the State; and when the demands of the taxgatherer were satisfied they had to pay to their lords. For the relics of feudalism still existed in France, and although few of the peasantry were serfs they were still bound by many feudal obligations which took their money and their time and harassed their laborious lives. When the Estates General met, for the first time in 175 years, the grievances of the peasants, as well as of discontented bourgeoisie,

and of the masses of the cities, were ready to burst forth.

It was the bankruptcy of the Government, after 175 years of purely autocratic or bureaucratic administration, which occasioned the tardy summons to the Estates General. Encumbered hopelessly with debt, unable to raise enough money by taxation according to the old laws, the Crown took the only step left. It summoned to life the defunct Estates General in order that new laws might be passed, new taxes imposed on every class of the people, and so that the State should be made solvent.

The French Revolution passed through three periods before it became "stabilised" in the autocracy of Napoleon Bonaparte. The first period was from May 5, 1789-1793—that is, from the Meeting of the Estates General to the death of King Louis XVI. During this time attempts were made by earnest, and, on the whole, sensible reformers, to introduce fair laws into France and to straighten out the tangle of administration. All class privileges were abolished. All French citizens were made equal before the law. The autocracy of the king was destroyed and a strictly limited monarchy, with parliamentary institutions, was

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established (Constitution of 1791). The great reforms in the legal and social position of all Frenchmen were collected and summarised in a *Declaration of the Rights of Man* (August 27, 1789).

The first period, in spite of certain disorders, might be called Reform. The second period, which began with the death of the King (1793) and ended with the day of 9th Thermidor (July 27, 1794), leading to the establishment of the Directory, was indeed revolution of a very terrible kind. In order to excite people against political institutions, leaders often stir up passions and make use of disorderly elements in the people; these passions and disorderly elements gain control, and a period of cruelty and bloodshed may ensue until some strong men are able to obtain ascendancy again. If, in addition to the raising of the passionate and disorderly elements at home, there are attacks upon the revolutionary State from without, the leaders inside the country may resort to the most desperate measures which they deem calculated to save themselves, the people and the fabric of government.

The Comte de Mirabeau, a moderate Royalist, the only reformer who seemed to combine in him-

self the courage and ability necessary to guide the revolution in moderation and stability, had died in 1791. The monarchs of Prussia and Austria, fearful that revolution might spread into their dominions, and desirous also to save the king whom they believed to be in danger, sent their armies against France. But the French revolutionary authorities, bankrupt, discredited, chaotic, were, nevertheless, able to meet the invaders with an army which, skilfully led by General Dumouriez, repulsed them in the Argonne, between the Rivers Aisne and Aire, at the battle or cannonade of Valmy (September 20, 1792). The intervention of the foreign monarchs ruined the prospects of the French royal family. Louis XVI., after five months of imprisonment, was guillotined on January 21, 1793; his wife, Marie Antoinette, in October. A band of determined men, some eleven or twelve, all members of the Convention (the elected assembly which had succeeded the Estates General) took command of the situation. They were called the Committee of Public Safety. Their leading spirit was Danton, a big, massive man of high will-power, courage, and eloquence. Military affairs were organised by Lazare Carnot, a military engineer who was elected to the Commit-

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tee of Public Safety, and who discovered the fighting value of a nation in arms. He carried through a great *levée en masse* of all the able-bodied men of military age. These made the most admirable infantry, and led by a number of brilliant young revolutionary generals, they drove the invaders out of the country and even conquered and occupied the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium). A ferocious series of guillotining, in which innocent and guilty suffered alike, restored something like internal order; about four thousand people were regularly executed—they were laid on their sides upon the execution-platform, the guillotine knife descended, and their heads fell into a basket which lay beneath. Many thousands were massacred in the provinces. The great danger from foreign war ended when Prussia made the Treaty of Bâle (April 5, 1795) with France, and abandoned all the Prussian territories on the left bank of the Rhine. Freed from the Prussian menace and sickened of the slaughters in the Reign of Terror, the Committee of Public Safety broke up (its greatest member, Danton, had been executed in the Terror in April, 1794), and gave way to a new Constitution and a new body of men, the Directory.

The Constitution of 1795, or of the Year III., as it was called in the revolutionary calendar, established a Corps Législatif of two chambers—Conseil des Anciens and Conseil des Cinq-Cents. The first 250 Anciens were elected by the old Convention before it expired, and thereafter by the whole Corps Législatif; the Cinq-Cents, or 500, were elected by primary assemblies or, as they are sometimes called, electoral colleges. The five Directors were chosen by the Anciens out of a list presented by the Cinq-Cents. The Directory formed a sort of cabinet; under it were Ministers, each of whom was at the head of a department of State—War, Foreign Affairs, the Navy, Finance, Justice.

The French historians Vandal, Sciout, and Sorel have, each in his own way, given telling descriptions of the misfortunes of France under the Directory. The armies were still burning with a noble flame of patriotism, but they were hungry, ill-paid, ragged. While they were fighting and dying to maintain the frontiers which the Revolution had won (for the Austrians were still at war with France), sleek civilians, high officials, army contractors, and speculators of all sorts were battenning on the misfortunes of the State. At

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the top of the official hierarchy the condition of morals was little better than among the army contractors and the jobbers who dealt in public loans and the national lands. Of the five Directors, two—Larevellière-Lépeaux and Carnot—were uncorrupted by gold, but to Rewbell, Barras, and Letourneur there attach suspicions of corruption, which amount to practical certainty.

Soldiers everywhere; the Directory ruled through the sword. For France was languishing—without commerce, without industry, without credit. The Directors could not bring peace nor prosperity; nor yet could they bring military success. The nation was sick of them from the start, and yet they were determined to rule. So they kept the army large; it would draw into its ranks the most adventurous and perhaps the most dangerous spirits. It would occupy more territory abroad, it would levy contributions on the conquered, and would send home plunder. Thus the empty treasury would be filled. France was becoming a pirate, a parasite State. And if opposition broke forth among the people at home, the army could quell it. The Directory was a civil government, heedless of popular institutions, exercising a military tyranny. But would the gen-

erals remain faithful, or would they produce a master, a Cæsar, a Cromwell, a Monk?—this was the question which tortured the Directors.

The Revolution had done its work. The Declaration of the Rights of Man remained, and still remains, a fundamental law of France. Equality before the law, no class privileges, every career open to talent, security of life and property from arbitrary authority—such were the chief gains of the Revolution. There was little else. Representative Government, as established in the Constitution of the Year III., was a delusion; the Directors held supreme power through the sword and would not give way. Under the rule of a remorseless, greedy oligarchy, republican simplicity disappeared. Dress swords, jewellery, hats carried under the arm, haughty manners, the vices of “high life” were common now in Paris society. The Directors themselves lived in the Luxembourg Palais in sumptuous apartments. Each received an income equal to \$25,000.00 a year. They had a bodyguard of picked troops. Suspicious of each other, of the people, of the generals, they lived amid splendour, luxury, and gaiety a dazzling but sordid life which could not blind them to the writing on the wall.

III

EUROPE AND THE REVOLUTION

THE French Revolution was the outstanding fact of European history in the last ten years of the eighteenth century; and the military autocracy of Napoleon Bonaparte, which was itself a consequence of the Revolution, was the outstanding fact of the first ten years of the nineteenth century. But while it is true to say that the French Revolution arrests attention above all other things in Europe in the decade after 1789, it is not so certain that, except in a military way, it vitally influenced the rest of Europe. Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say that the spiritual movement for emancipation—political, social, intellectual—which took the French people by storm in 1789 and 1790, was being felt at the same time, and in the preceding and subsequent years, in the rest of Europe, but in a less violent way. The spiritual impulse towards a freer system was a

European movement: it is doubtful whether its revolutionary expression in France even hastened its fulfilment elsewhere. In France, too, this movement would have made itself felt, would have produced a freer state of affairs, if the mob, influenced by reckless orators, had not risen and made revolution. Reform could have come and would have come in France, step by step, through gradual development, as in Great Britain, without any catastrophic revolution. The calamitous suddenness and destructiveness of the French Revolution was owing to the blindness of Louis XIV. and the selfishness of Louis XV., kings who had delivered France over to an ill-managed, wasteful, autocratic government instead of initiating a gradual process of reform.

New life was blossoming in the Romantic Movement all over Europe. In Germany, Austria, Italy, and Great Britain, men of vision were labouring, although by quieter means than in France, to elevate and to emancipate the human spirit. Such were Goethe, Kant, Joseph II., Burke, and a host of others. The labours of Goethe were not political, but they had enduring political effects. Goethe was born in 1749 at a time when, his biographer Lewes says:

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“The movement which had culminated in Luther was passing from religion to politics, and freedom of thought was translating itself into liberty of action. From theology the movement had communicated itself to philosophy, morals, and politics. The agitation was still mainly in the higher classes, but it was gradually descending to the lower. A period of deep unrest: big with events which would expand the conceptions of men, and bewilder some of the wisest.” (Lewes, *Life of Goethe*, chap. ii.)

Goethe grew up in the quaint old city of Frankfurt, a free republic of the Holy Roman Empire, governed by its patrician citizen families, echoing in its streets the bygone Middle Ages, and maintaining with steady success a thriving modern commerce. From Frankfurt he went to the University at Leipzig, and later to that of Strasbourg. There in 1770 he saw the lovely, ill-fated Marie Antoinette pass on her way to marry the Dauphin of France. In 1773 he published the romantic historical drama of *Götz von Berlichingen*, a robber-knight of the period of the Renaissance; at the same time he was living in Wetzlar,

practising law before the Imperial Chamber, the supreme court of the dying Holy Roman Empire.

In 1774 Goethe published *The Sorrows of Werther*; this was based upon the history of a romantic, neurotic diplomatist called Jerusalem (Secretary to the Brunswick Legation), whom Goethe had known at Wetzlar. *The Sorrows of Werther* "startled Europe." It expressed the romanticism of the period; it was fresh, simple, pathetic—too neurotic to be altogether wholesome, but certainly a great improvement on the "wretched novels" of the time. Werther, a young diplomatist, finds the monotony and emptiness of eighteenth century official life intolerable. He goes for rest to a quiet sylvan retreat, where he sketches, reads Homer, plays with the country children, walks among the woods, dreams under the moonlight. He falls in love with a married woman, Charlotte, whom he sees in the simple domestic task of cutting bread and butter for the children. He goes away, tortured by hopeless passion. Later he returns to the quiet village, and tries to take up the old calm life again, but fails to find rest, and ends his life by suicide.

The effect of *Werther* was not wholly good.

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It began a school of sentimental literature, which led to exaggerations, as in the cult of "Byronism," at the end of the Napoleonic period. But it shook old Europe, and was at the beginning of much of the great things done in the grand literature of the nineteenth century.

In 1775 Goethe accepted an invitation of Karl August, Grand Duke of Weimar, to pay a long visit to his court. He went, and became so attached to that delightful little city, to its liberally-minded court, and its cultured society, that Weimar was his home, although he frequently made long excursions away from it, for the rest of his long life. He made two thrilling and fruitful journeys to Italy; and in 1792 he followed the Grand Duke, largely through mere curiosity, in the invasion of France which ended at Valmy. Although not a soldier, he went under cannon-fire and described the sensations in his diary. Goethe was no politician. His aim in life was spiritual and mental culture in the broadest sense. While at Weimar he was researching in botany and in the theory of optics, as well as writing prose, verse, and drama. He focussed in himself all the cultural movements which made the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of

the nineteenth an age of enlightenment, an *Aufklärung*, as the Germans called it, almost a Renaissance, not merely for Germany but for all Europe. In 1806, after Napoleon's victory over the Prussians at Jena, the French entered Weimar and sacked it. Goethe's house escaped being plundered because Marshal Augereau took up his quarters there. Later, in 1808, Goethe was invited by Napoleon, who was holding a conference with the Tsar Alexander at Erfurt, to come and meet him. He went and had breakfast with Napoleon, who is said to have read *The Sorrows of Werther* seven times. They met with mutual pleasure and admiration. But Goethe, the author of *Werther* and *Faust*, was a more characteristic figure of a great age than was Napoleon, the author of the Code Napoléon and the victor of Marengo and Jena. In 1831 Thackeray, then a youth of nineteen, visited Goethe at Weimar. Next year the great master of modern culture died.

Another man of rare and outstanding genius was Immanuel Kant. Although almost all of his long life (he was born in 1724 and died in 1804) was spent in the eighteenth century, his profound philosophical studies did not exercise their potent effect on men's minds until after the nineteenth

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century had opened. Born in Königsberg, a student at Königsberg University, finally a teacher and professor there for over fifty years, he seemed to have little contact with the outer world, yet all the time he was at work on the great task to ascertain truth and to train the reasoning faculties of men; while the States fought each other, when the French Revolution broke out, and theories toppled to the ground, he still patiently (in Sorel's words) "dug his mine." In 1771 Kant produced *The Critique of Pure Reason*. There followed *The Metaphysic of Morality*, *The Critique of Practical Reason*, *The Critique of Judgment*. The greater number of the nineteenth century philosophers and theologians acknowledged an enormous debt to Kant. After the great wars had begun and seemed almost to have become permanent in Europe, Kant wrote, in 1795, a *Project of Perpetual Peace*—a step, and a notable step, although at the moment it had no effect, in the long march of mankind to a system of international justice which will eliminate war.

Every intellectual movement engenders a zeal for education. There was good education to be had in the eighteenth century, but it was scarce, and was to be found chiefly in a comparatively

small number of universities and a few "secondary" schools for boys. There was little "primary" education except what was given at home, and very little education at all for girls. The father of modern primary education, and of much that is good in secondary education, was the gentle Pestalozzi. Unpractical, poor, ill-dressed, a bad speaker, all Pestalozzi's schools sooner or later failed, yet his beautiful character, his devotion to education, his patience, perseverance, and his ideas, commanded universal respect and admiration in Europe, and initiated an educational movement which has never stopped.

Pestalozzi was born in Zurich in 1746, and received his early education from an uncle who was a Protestant pastor. As a young man he studied at the Academy of Zurich where the philosopher Wolff had strongly influenced his pupils to "return to Nature" and to cultivate simplicity of manners. Next for about seven years Pestalozzi was a market-gardener at Neuhoff, near Zurich. He married happily, but the market-garden failed, so he decided to turn it into a school for poor children. He believed in providing variety in the instruction of children—intellectual, moral, and physical instruction. He allowed his

pupils "liberty regulated by wisdom." He added to their instruction training in agriculture, and also to some extent in industrial pursuits. His pupils were above all things "to feel the reality of God in their hearts." Schooling of this kind, he held, would go far to cure the ills of the poor; for he believed that the usual benevolent institutions did not do good by giving the poor man a loaf which he had not earned.

There were twenty children at Pestalozzi's Neuhoff school. They helped to maintain it by their work on the school's land; but there were not enough of them for this, and the school became a financial failure, after five years, in 1780.

For nearly twenty years Pestalozzi lived on, as a small farmer, at Neuhoff. He wrote a little, and corresponded with men of high interest in education, especially with the German professor of philosophy, Fichte. In 1801 he published a long work on education in the form of a novel called, *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*. In the same year, having found an ideal friend and colleague in a young student called Krusi, Pestalozzi opened a boarding school for middle-class boys of all ages and for poor boys (some of whom came by day, while some boarded). This school

was at the Château of Berthoud, in the canton of Berne. In 1804 the Government of Berne took over the Château of Berthoud; but a new home for Pestalozzi's activities was found by the town of Yverdon on Lake Neuchatel, which invited him to settle there in a château. The school at Yverdon won European fame. Many sons of the European nobility were sent to it for education. The Prussian Government, which after the disasters of the year 1806, was making a new start in education and politics in Prussia, sent officials and scholars to Yverdon to study Pestalozzi's system.

In 1813 all the German pupils of Yverdon left to join in the War of Liberation against Napoleon. The school, however, survived this loss. When the Allied armies marched through Switzerland, Pestalozzi had an interview with the Emperor Alexander, who was so impressed that he gave orders to save the school from being requisitioned for a military hospital. The school went on until 1825. Among other influential people trained was Froebel, a teacher on the Yverdon staff, a great name in the history of nineteenth century primary schools. By 1825 the Yverdon school, like Pestalozzi's previous ventures, was a financial failure.

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He retired to Brugg in the Aargau and died in 1827. Like the achievement of some other magnificent failures, Pestalozzi's work is living and with us still.

IV

THE ARRIVAL OF BONAPARTE

THE personage who for twenty years (1796-1815) was to monopolise the attention of the whole world was, when the French Revolution broke out, an unknown lieutenant of artillery. He was scarcely to be distinguished from the rest of his commonplace fellows. Like them, he was poor, living meagrely on a subaltern's pay. Unlike them, he was taciturn and ascetic; he ate little, cared nothing for wine, and did not frequent loose company. He was also more studious than his fellows; besides his technical studies, he read much in history, and even compiled a sort of chronology and notes on English history. Yet he does not seem at this time to have been, compared with other officers, particularly ambitious or particularly imaginative. He was simply, as it seemed, a somewhat unattractive, half-Italian young French professional soldier.

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Napoleon Bonaparte was born on August 15, 1769, at Ajaccio. He belonged to a poor but ancient family which had been nobles in Florence in the time of Dante, and had later migrated to Corsica. His father was an advocate who fought in the forces of General Paoli, the defender of Corsican liberty against the Genoese and the French. In 1768, however, the Genoese gave over the island, in return for a financial indemnity, to France, and thus Bonaparte was born a French subject.

Bonaparte's father retained his position and influence in the island under the French, and in 1779 secured nomination for his second son, Napoleon, to enter the military school at Brienne, in Champagne. When he went to this school, the young Bonaparte could still speak only Italian. He soon learned French, however, and distinguished himself in mathematics and all the studies connected with military affairs. He was known as a proud, reserved boy, who seldom spoke without a dash of bitterness in his voice. He made no real friends at this time, although he found an acquaintance with Louis Antoine de Bourrienne, who afterwards became his military secretary and wrote important and interesting Memoirs about him.

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In 1783, at the age of fifteen, Bonaparte gained the distinction of being selected to enter the Royal Military School at Paris. The report of his masters, on which he was taken into the Paris school, is as follows:

“M. de Bonaparte (Napoleon), born 15 August, 1769, height four feet ten inches; good constitution; health excellent; character docile, upright, grateful; conduct very regular; has always distinguished himself by his application to mathematics. He is passably acquainted with history and geography; he is rather weak as to his Latin diction and other elegant accomplishments; would make an excellent sea-officer; deserves to be transferred to the Military School at Paris.

Although reported not to be distinguished in his historical studies, Bonaparte nevertheless read deeply in certain kinds of history—Plutarch, because of that writer’s grand accounts of antique, heroic, martial characters; and Tacitus, because of his pithy, ironical, stimulating, political sayings. He also found congenial reading in the poems of Ossian (presumably in French transla-

tion), because of "the solemn pictures of heroic passions, love, battle, victory, and death." He was admitted to some of the cultured society of Paris *salons*, and attracted attention by his serious, reflective manner. He retained his modest, austere habits, and proposed to the authorities of the military school that the cadets should be allowed only soldiers' rations. He was not popular at the school, but this does not seem to have disturbed him. In 1785 he was gazetted second-lieutenant of artillery, and joined his company in garrison at Valence. In the same year his father died at the age of forty-five.

At Valence Bonaparte came out as quite a sociable officer. He had courtly manners, and he could, and now did, make himself agreeable to the society of the interesting old town. In eighteenth century France there were a large number of local academies or learned societies which encouraged research and literature by offering prizes for competition. Rousseau had first distinguished himself by writing for a prize offered by the Academy of Dijon. Lieutenant Bonaparte, in the midst of his military duties and social distractions, found time to write for a prize offered by the Academy of Lyons. The subject was "The

principles and institutions by which mankind can be raised to the greatest happiness." His essay was successful; unfortunately, when he was Emperor, he burned the only copy of it which existed. When the Revolutionary movement began in 1789, Bonaparte gave his sympathy to it and never wavered.

In 1792, at the early age of twenty-three, Bonaparte was gazetted captain of artillery, but was given no employment. He went to Paris and lived miserably, almost without money, during the wildest times of the Revolution. He was disgusted by the excesses of the Assembly, but also at the feebleness with which the King met the disorders: "If he had swept away five hundred or six hundred with his cannon, the rest would be running yet," said Bonaparte, when the mob stormed the Tuileries (on August 10, 1792).

In August, 1793, Royalists put Toulon into the hands of the British. Admiral Lord Hood occupied the forts and harbour, but there were few British soldiers to garrison the city. The French Revolutionary Government at once took energetic steps to regain Toulon, and for months the city was besieged. The French troops at this time were of poor quality, and the siege made little prog-

ress. About halfway through the siege Bonaparte obtained the post of commandant of artillery there. He saw at once that the fire of the artillery had been directed to the wrong parts. He persuaded the higher command to alter the plan of operations in accordance with his views. The forts which defended the harbour were vigorously bombarded, and then stormed (December). Thus the port became untenable for the British or for their Spanish allies. Toulon was recaptured by the French on December 19 (1793). Thus Bonaparte at the age of twenty-four had accomplished a service of the first importance for the French Republic.

After the brilliant success at Toulon, Bonaparte might have looked forward to rapid promotion and a brilliant career. As a matter of fact, at the end of the Reign of Terror in 1794, through being suspected of belonging to the party of Robespierre, he fell into misfortune along with that architect of the Terror. Robespierre was executed; Bonaparte suffered a short imprisonment. Although liberated, he was not given employment. In 1795 he was again living in Paris, rather poorly, but always fertile in military plans which he put before the officials of the Ministry of War. There

were, however, scores of unemployed officers haunting the doors of the military bureaux, and they all confidently believed that they were worthy of a high command.

In 1795 the Convention brought into force the "Constitution of the Year III.," which established the Directory as the highest executive authority. There was a good deal of opposition in Paris both among those who had royalist sympathies and among the more extreme sections of the republicans. It was obvious that insurgent mobs which were gathering would attack the Tuileries where the Convention held its sessions. The Directors did not know where to turn for an officer who was both sufficiently trustworthy and sufficiently capable to defend them. However, one of the Directors, Barras, had been present at the siege of Toulon, and had noted the capacity of Bonaparte. "I have the man whom you want," he told his colleagues; "he is a little Corsican officer who will not stand upon ceremony." Bonaparte was given command of the troops protecting the Tuileries.

On 13th Vendémiaire, according to the republican calendar (October 4), 1795, thirty thousand National Guards, accompanied by the mob, advanced, along various streets, upon the palace. But

the defence was in very different hands now from those in which it had lain on the days when King Louis XVI. looked upon the butchery of his faithful Swiss by the rabble. Bonaparte had placed cannon in positions where they could sweep the bridges over the Seine on one side of the Tuileries and the streets on the other. As the insurgent masses moved slowly along the narrow streets, they were really at his mercy. The first firing occurred in the famous Rue St. Honoré near the church of St. Roch. Soon every battery was at work. It was something more than a "whiff of grape-shot," for the whole action lasted about an hour. Apparently not more than one hundred of the insurgents were killed. The success of Bonaparte was complete. The insurrection was a total failure; the *journée* of 13th Vendémiaire established the Directory solidly—for some years at least.

Bonaparte was given command of the troops in the capital. He remained, as before, hard-working, studious, modest; but he also went out into society, particularly in the circle of Barras. Here he met Josephine Beauharnais, widow of a republican general. He married her on March 9, 1796. She was a friend of Barras, and doubt-

less her influence, as well as Bonaparte's reputation, had something to do with the still youthful general's appointment to command the army of Italy.

V

THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN, 1796-1797

TO-DAY, when a visitor to the French Riviera stands by the side of the Var and looks up the broad, shallow bed to the glistening mountains of the Alpes Maritimes, he may not reflect that this was formerly the boundary of France and Italy. When Bonaparte took over command of the Army of Italy in 1796 the kingdom of Sardinia nominally (although the French had occupied part of its territory) stretched from the Var on the side of France down to the Genoese frontier near Savona on this side of Genoa. Its capital was Turin. The other Italian states were the Papal States, the Duchies of Parma and Modena, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Republics of Genoa and Venice, and the Kingdom of Italy. Besides these there was the Austrian territory of Lombardy, of which the capital was Milan.

The war between France on the one hand and

the states of Western and Central Europe on the other, which had begun in 1792, was still in progress. In 1793 Great Britain was drawn into the struggle, and the efforts of France's enemies had been joined together by the diplomacy of Pitt, who arranged what is known as the First Coalition. This was a somewhat loose military association of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Spain, and some smaller states. By 1795, however, the Prussian and Spanish Governments, wearied of the struggle and hopeless of success, consented to the Treaties of Bâle and went out of the war. Great Britain was still fighting, but, owing to lack of any foothold on the Continent, her efforts were almost wholly confined to beating France on the sea. Austria alone remained fighting, with the utmost determination, on the continent of Europe.

In France the Directory was practically bankrupt. Its armies, although well led, were depressed through lack of pay, poor food, inadequate equipment. French armies had crossed the Rhine and, under Generals Jourdan and Moreau, were fighting the Austrians and their allies, but without any success, in Baden and Bavaria. The other great theatre of war, where big Austrian armies were

in the field, was North Italy. There the Austrians held their own territory of Lombardy, and were supported by the King of Sardinia, who held his chief province, Piedmont, in strength, although he had lost Nice. The French, however, were making no further progress in their military operations. It was in the territory of Nice that Bonaparte took up his command of the "Army of Italy" on March 27, 1796.

The Italian campaign was the beginning of the transformation of Europe which was to be brought about by Bonaparte within the next ten years. The youthful General, aged twenty-six, and hitherto not very successful, had already conceived the plan of remodelling some of the ancient states of Europe by destroying the armies in Italy of the most powerful and respected of the European monarchies. If the Austrian armies in North Italy were defeated, the old Austrian homelands could be invaded from the south; Vienna itself might be occupied, and the old European system would thus be pierced at the heart. In the meantime the French soldiers would have been gladdened with the good living to be gained in the rich cities of North Italy, and the bankrupt finances of France would be replenished with tribute wrung from

thence. In a proclamation issued to the Army of Italy, General Bonaparte wrote: "Soldiers, you are hungry and naked. . . . I come to lead you into the most fertile plains that the sun beholds. Rich provinces, opulent towns, all shall be at your disposal." This promise was fulfilled.

The great campaign falls, as it were, into three parts. First, there was the conquest of Piedmont; second there came the conquest of Lombardy; and third, Carinthia was invaded and the heart of Austria itself threatened.

Piedmont was defended not only by the army of its monarch, the King of Sardinia, but by his Austrian ally. Three smashing blows laid Piedmont at Bonaparte's feet. At the Battle of Montenotte (April 12, 1796) and Dego (April 15) he defeated the Austrian army, and forced it to retreat from the province. At Mondovi on April 22 he assaulted the Sardinian army, which was led by General Colli; it was not annihilated, but was driven into retreat. Bonaparte pushed on and occupied one town after another. Then he sent a proposal to the Sardinian General for an armistice; his plan was to detach Sardinia from the alliance with Austria, which then could be dealt with separately. To save his capital—for Turin,

only about thirty miles away, was threatened by the tremendous swiftness of Bonaparte's marches—the King of Sardinia consented to treat. He made the Armistice of Cherasco (April 27, 1796) and retired from the war.

In three weeks Bonaparte had completely changed the whole military position in Italy. With the most important strategical part of Piedmont occupied by them, the French could feel secure from the Austrians. But Bonaparte was not tempted to rest here. His soldiers might appear to be worn out, but at any rate they were no longer hungry; and they were filled with enthusiasm for the young General who made victory everywhere alight on their bayonets. The zeal which they had shown for the republic in the glorious battles of 1793 and 1794 they now felt for their General. "The freshness of the air, the sure expectation of coming repose, and of a happiness which would not end, gave to their appearance something of joyousness and exaltation, which made them march without thought of trials and temptations. People saw them with astonishment, tattered, pale, emaciated, but proud, gay, martial, and disciplined, advancing in their conquest with the dust and remnants of the routed enemy." (Sorel.)

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The soldiers' repose was not to come for a long time yet. Bonaparte never gave a beaten enemy a respite. In May he crossed the river at Piacenza and invaded Lombardy. The Austrians did not feel strong enough to defend Milan. They fell back upon the River Adda; Bonaparte had a stiff fight to cross the Adda at Lodi. He put his whole fortune to the touch, and charged at the head of the infantry across the bridge. The Austrians were driven back. Bonaparte entered the capital May 16, 1796.

The Milanese received the French as deliverers. The nobility, splendidly dressed, rode forth to meet the "invaders" who had driven out the hated Austrians. Beautiful women showered flowers upon the soldiers. The novelist Stendhal, who was in the French commissariat service, describes the excitement, the gladness, the exaltation: "It was the most beautiful moment of a beautiful springtime." The world was young again; the age of gold was returning. "You are free," Bonaparte proclaimed to the Milanese, "and Milan will be your capital."

It was an age of gold, but the gold was the tribute which Bonaparte meant to wring from the conquered peoples. "We shall draw twenty

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million in contributions from this country," he wrote to the Directory (May 16, 1796). He had already, on the way to Milan, forced the Duke of Parma to pay an indemnity of two million *livres* (about \$2,500,000). The Duke of Modena had to pay seven million *livres*. In addition each sovereign had to hand over twenty famous pictures from his palace galleries. The Papal legations (Ferrara, Bologna, Romagna) were exposed to attack from Bonaparte; to buy him off, the Pope had to pay twenty-one million *livres* and to give up a hundred pictures or statues. The money, pictures, and statues were all packed up and sent off in wagons to Paris. France was now a parasite living on neighbour states.

The Austrians were still grimly occupying their positions in the east of Lombardy. They held Mantua, strengthened by all the art of the engineers and by the waters and marshes of the River Mincio. Bonaparte laid siege to the great fortress. For months the fight went on. The Austrian Government made gigantic efforts to relieve the fortress. The great battles Castiglione (August 2, 1796), Arcola (November 15), Rivoli (January 14, 1797) brought no success to the Austrian relieving armies, no escape for the doomed city.

On February 2, 1797, Mantua capitulated. Disregarding the neutrality of the Republic of Venice (which the Austrians had not respected), Bonaparte marched across Venetian territory and plunged into the green valleys of Carinthia. But as his army, with its vast train of horses, waggons, and artillery, its long columns of zealous but foot-sore, battered infantry, wound its way over the Carinthian passes, General Bonaparte was thinking of peace. He was on the road to Vienna; but could he maintain his army safely in the depths of Austria? He put a bold face on it; talked like a conqueror, and proposed terms. The Austrian Government, uncertain whether it could defend Vienna or not from the invaders, consented to treat.

A preliminary Treaty of Peace was made on April 18, 1797, in the Château of Eggenwald at Leoben in Styria. The terms included the cession of the Belgic provinces of Austria to France; in return Austria was to receive compensation, partly at the expense of the neutral Republic of Venice. Thus did republican France and imperial Austria conspire against a friendly state and against the old Europe.

The final Peace with Austria could not be ar-

ranged for some time. Meanwhile Bonaparte, who was overstrained, returned to Milan and took up his residence in the charming Château of Mombello. Here he kept something like a court; if he was not already regal, he was at any rate pro-consular, half independent of the powers at home who nominally commanded him. He was like Cæsar in Gaul; and the Directory in Paris might soon be treated as Cæsar, when he returned with his legions, treated the Senate at Rome. The sal-low little General with the long, lank hair, and the straight coat buttoned up to the neck, commanded attention even though he did not assume any grandeur of dress. A French diplomatist who visited Bonaparte at Milan thus describes the scene:

“I was received by Bonaparte at the magnificent residence of Mombello on the 13th Prairiel (June 1), in the midst of a brilliant court rather than the headquarters of an army. Strict etiquette already reigned around him; his aides-de-camp and his officers were no longer received at his table, and he had become fastidious in the choice of the guests whom he admitted to it. . . . He dined, so

to speak, in public; the inhabitants of the country were admitted to the room in which he was eating and allowed to gaze at him with a keen curiosity." (Miot de Melito, *Mémoires*.)

Bonaparte was doing more than holding court while at Mombello. Wherever he had power he never could bear to see lack of symmetry and of organisation. So now at Mombello he was planning a reorganisation of Italy, at least of North Italy. He had already created a "Cispadane Republic" out of the Papal territories of Ferrara, Bologna and Ravenna, detached from the dominion of the Pope by the Treaty of Tolentino. He now laid out the foundations of a "Cisalpine Republic" consisting of Piedmont and Lombardy (to be detached from Austria) and part of Venice; the short-lived Cispadane Republic was also to be merged in the Cisalpine.

In the autumn of 1797 Bonaparte went up to Udine in Venetian territory, where he met the Austrian plenipotentiary, Louis Cobenzl, to make the final Peace. This was done by the Treaty of Campo Formio. Austria confirmed the cession of the Belgic provinces to France and the inclu-

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sion of Lombardy in the Cisalpine Republic. In compensation France agreed, not simply as at Leoben to a cession of a part of Venetian territory, but to the complete extinction of this ancient republican state, for the increase of Austria.

VI

THE NATURAL BOUNDARIES

NEARLY every state when it is at war protests that it is acting on the defensive. The French were loud in this claim; and, indeed, it is true that the Revolutionary War had begun with the advance of Prussian and Austrian armies over the French frontier. On the other hand, the French revolutionary authorities may be said to have provoked intervention by their open invitations to the peoples who were ruled by monarchs to throw off their "oppressors." The Revolutionary defence of France proved so successful that not merely were the invaders expelled, but the political frontiers were advanced until they coincided with what the French for some hundred and fifty or two hundred years had been calling their "natural frontiers"—the Alps, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees. These last had been the political frontier between France and Spain since 1559; but

Savoy lay between France and the Alps, and provinces of Prussia, Austria, and other states of the Empire lay between France and the greater part of the Rhine. The Treaty of Bâle in 1795, however, secured to France the Prussian territories on the left bank, and the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797 added the Austrian left-bank territories, comprising Belgium. This country, it is true, did not actually touch the Rhine, although it extended very near to that river. France, through her military control of the "Batavian Republic" (formerly the United Netherlands), really took possession of the mouths of the Rhine. The warfare of the next few years was only defensive on the part of France, in so far as she was defending the Rhine frontier—that is, defending territories which she had annexed from her neighbours. Great Britain, for one, could never consent to see a Great State, usually hostile to her, holding the mouths of the Rhine and Scheldt. Had France consented to abandon these gains, she could have had complete peace. But the penalty of success is often that retreat is almost impossible. No French Government had the courage, after the victories which it had won, to tell its people that they must abandon their conquests.

Besides, the "natural frontiers" were by this time elevated into something like a doctrine; to attain them was the aim of the traditional or "classic" system of foreign policy.

The great trouble about this "*système classique*" was that having gained their natural frontiers the French had to defend them against an indignant Europe. Bonaparte, having won the Rhine frontier by 1797, was soon faced with another Austrian War. Offence being in his eyes the best sort of defence, he marched his troops to the other side of the Rhine. Successful in this effort, he deemed it advisable to hold positions beyond the Rhine so as to have a defensive buffer or "bastion" in front of the natural frontier. Attacked on this new line he was successful, and indemnified himself by taking in more of the territory in front. So he annexed or controlled land from the Rhine to the Elbe; from the Elbe to the Oder; from the Oder to the Vistula; finally, in 1812, to prevent all future attacks from that side, he felt it necessary to advance to the Niemen and the Vistula. In a similar way, on the other natural frontiers, he had pushed on from the Alps to the Apennines and to the Straits of Messina, and from the Pyrenees to the Ebro and Tagus. These ad-

vances in the end ruined him. The dogma of the natural frontiers brought upon the French the nemesis due to "going too far."

The Egyptian Expedition was, in a sense, only an effort to secure from the most determined adversary recognition of the natural frontiers. Great Britain was determined to go on fighting until the French evacuated Belgium. The British Navy was superior on the sea; the French could not break the power of Great Britain by fighting on that element. But a blow against the British overseas empire, especially the East Indies (India), might be fatal. The Instruction issued by the Directory to General Bonaparte before he went on the expedition shows clearly its object:

"He should take possession of Egypt, chase the English from the East and destroy their counting-houses on the Red Sea; he will cut the Isthmus of Suez and secure possession of the Red Sea to France; he will ameliorate the lot of the natives of the country and will keep himself as far as he can in a good understanding with the Grand Signor."

It was on May 4, 1798, that Bonaparte was

appointed to command the Egyptian Expedition. He sailed with his forces from Toulon on May 19. Fortunately escaping the patrols of the British Fleet, he took Malta, the last possession of the once-glorious Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. From this island he issued his famous proclamation: "People of Egypt, I respect more than the Mamelukes God, his prophet Mahomet, and the Koran."

Egypt was still a province of Turkey, but practically independent under the Mamelukes. These were the descendants or successors of the Turkish slaves who had formed the bodyguard of the early medieval Egyptian sultans. In Bonaparte's time the Mamelukes were the aristocracy, the fighting nobility who practically governed Egypt under the nominal rule of a Turkish pasha.

On July 1, Bonaparte disembarked his army at Alexandria. On July 21 he encountered the Mamelukes near Cairo and completely routed their forces at the Battle of the Pyramids. Three days later he entered Cairo. This was the end of his successes in the Eastern theatre of war. On August 1, Admiral Nelson, who had been searching the Mediterranean for the French Fleet, came upon it off the mouths of the Nile and destroyed it

(1798). Command of the sea determined the ultimate issue of the land campaign. Bonaparte, in danger of being marooned in Egypt, tried to retrieve the campaign by a march into Palestine, with the object, in the long run, of reaching the splendid goal of Constantinople. He failed at the siege of Acre in April and May, 1799, and had to retreat to Egypt. There he received disquieting news about the condition of France, and particularly about the ill-success of French armies in Germany and Italy. He at once took ship, and, luckily escaping the British patrols, landed in France, at Fréjus, on October 9.

While Bonaparte was away, Pitt had managed to renew the Austro-British alliance against France, and to bring Russia and Naples into the combination; this was called the Second Coalition. Austria, smarting from her defeats in 1796 in Italy, came into the struggle again, with very much improved forces and leadership. The Neapolitans—not very good fighters—courageously began the War of the Second Coalition by marching upon Rome, from which the French had just driven out Pope Pius VI. Although they were able to occupy Rome, the Neapolitans had only a short-lived success. Their territory was almost imme-

diately invaded by French troops under the leadership of an ardent young General, Championnet, one of those brilliant, dashing commanders who made the glory of the republican armies. Championnet occupied Naples in January, 1799, and, amid immense enthusiasm on the part of the mob, established a republic. He fell out of favour, however, with the Directory at Paris and was recalled. This was the end of Championnet's career. He died next year at Antibes, where his bust stands among the houses on the high ground above the sparkling waters of the Mediterranean, reminding his spirit, perhaps, of the Bay of Naples and the great days of '98.

The French generals were not all Championnets, and they had sterner stuff to deal with. In March, 1799, the Austrian Archduke Charles defeated Jourdan at Stockach (in South Germany), and in April he broke the forces of Scherer at Magnano (in the Adige Valley). A Russian army under Suvorov marched through Austria into Italy, occupied Milan, defeated and killed Joubert at Novi (August 15, 1799), and in the autumn invaded Switzerland, which, nominally independent, was held by the French troops under General Masséna. The formidable nature of the country,

the rigour of winter, and the skill of Masséna, ruined the Russian invasion and cost Suvorov most of his troops. The British invasion of Holland was also a failure. Nevertheless, the war as a whole was going badly for France when Bonaparte returned on October 9, 1799. The Directory had shown itself to be corrupt and inefficient. Bonaparte was going to make an end of it.

Bonaparte took up residence at his house in the Rue de la Victoire on October 10. The Directors at their palace, the Luxembourg, received him kindly, but with some trepidation. Generals who had served with him frequented his house. His agreeable wife, Josephine, had a pleasant *salon*. In the streets, General Bonaparte was a popular figure. People began to feel, somehow, that a big event was at hand.

It came on 19th Brumaire (November 11), 1799. Lucien Bonaparte, a younger brother of the General, was President of the Council of Five Hundred, which was strongly republican. The Council of Ancients, where the majority were supporters of General Bonaparte, passed a decree that the Legislature (Council of Ancients and Council of Five Hundred) should be removed from Paris to St. Cloud, a few miles from the capital. On

19th Brumaire the Councils met in the Palace of St. Cloud, their new quarters. Into the assembly of the Council of Five Hundred strode General Bonaparte with four grenadiers, like another Cromwell, obviously determined on making a *coup d'état*. He was greeted, however, with such a storm of opposition that he left the chamber quite disconcerted. At this moment his brother, Lucien, the President of the hostile Council of Five Hundred, took the decisive step which decided the history of France and of the world. He swiftly left the hall, put himself on horseback, and shouted to the assembled soldiers: "The President of the Council announces to you that factious men with daggers interrupt the deliberations of the Senate. He authorises you to employ force. The Assembly of Five Hundred is dissolved." The soldiers responded; the deputies were ejected from the hall, and one of the most remarkable revolutions of all time was carried through without the loss of a drop of blood.

A Provisional Government was formed of three Consuls—Bonaparte, with Sieyès and Ducos, two friends of his who had been in the defunct Directory. Soon a "permanent" system superseded the provisional, and is known as the Constitution

of the Year VIII. (1799). There were three Consuls holding office for ten years; of these three Bonaparte had the position of First Consul. There were also to be Ministers, a Council of State, and a Legislature consisting of a Tribunate and a Legislative Body. As might have been expected no person or body had much power except the First Consul.

The chaos in administration which had marked the last years of the Directorial régime was ended. Bonaparte's genius for system and organisation quickly asserted itself. In the war, the wheel of fortune was almost at once reversed. In the summer of 1800, Bonaparte went to the theatre of war in North Italy. The Austrians were besieging the French garrison of Genoa. The fall of this city would endanger not merely the French advanced frontier in North Italy, but the natural frontier of the Alps, for the road from Genoa along the Riviera to Nice is the only easy route over this frontier into France. But Genoa was not destined to fall to the Austrians. On June 14, 1800, Bonaparte overwhelmed them at Marengo. In Germany the Austrians fared no better, for on December 3, General Moreau routed their army at Hohenlinden. Austria itself would have been

invaded but Bonaparte preferred to offer peace, which, after tedious negotiations, was concluded at Lunéville on February 9, 1801. The treaty expelled the Grand Duke of Tuscany (who was a Habsburg) from Italy; and it recognised as belonging to France all territories on the left bank of the Rhine which formed part of the German Empire. By the Treaty of Bâle, France had acquired the Prussian territories on the left bank; by the Treaty of Campo Formio she had acquired the Austrian; now, by the Treaty of Lunéville, France acquired all that remained on the left bank—substantial portions of the Archbishoprics of Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne, and territories of many other ecclesiastical and secular states of the dying Empire.

VII

THE END OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

THE Holy Roman Empire, often called the Empire of Germany, or simply "the Empire," as it were, *par excellence*, had existed since the coronation of the German King Otto I. at Rome by Pope John XII., in 962. But its roots went further back than this—to the Roman Empire, which Augustus had formed out of the old Roman Republic in 31 B.C., and which had endured until the Barbarian Odoacer dethroned the "Little Augustus," Romulus Augustulus, in A.D. 476. The tradition of this original Roman Empire was never lost even in the darkest part of the Dark Ages; and in 800 the great Frank, Charlemagne, revived the Empire in his own person, being crowned on Christmas Day of that year by Pope Leo III. But the Empire, as refounded in the Caroling family, went to pieces rapidly in the half-century

following Charlemagne's death, and disappeared altogether at the end of the ninth century. It was revived, however, this time in the person of a German, Otto of Saxony, eldest son of Henry the Fowler, King of Germany. From 962, when Otto was crowned Emperor in Rome, until the year 1806, the Empire had a continuous existence, except for an interregnum of twenty-two years from the death of Frederick II., in 1250, to the accession of Rudolf of Habsburg in 1272. As originally refounded by Otto I., the Empire included all the states and provinces of Germany and of Italy, and although it had no capital, the city of Rome was its spiritual centre, not merely because the Pope resided there, but because Rome was the traditional seat of imperial dignity. By the year 1250, however, the connection between Germany and Italy was destroyed; and the Empire was simply the Empire of Germany, and the Emperor, who held his position only for life, was always elected out of the existing German monarchs and princes. Since 1438, except for one brief reign of a Bavarian, the Emperor had always been a Habsburg, the reigning Archduke of Austria. From 1792 to 1806 the Emperor was Francis II. of Austria. Actually, as Emperor,

he had no power; as Archduke of Austria he was the ruler of an important State. The monarchs and princes who made up the Imperial body or federation paid very little attention to the Emperor; such monarchs as the King of Prussia, the Elector of Saxony, the Grand Duke of Baden, and the Elector of Hanover (who was King of Great Britain) always in the latter half of the eighteenth century acted quite independently of the Imperial authority. Nevertheless, the Empire continued to exist, not simply "on paper," but as a rusty piece of machinery which still uselessly yet laboriously cranked and revolved as the days and years slipped past. Its Legislature, composed of the ruling princes and Free Cities still met from time to time at Ratisbon; its court of appeal, in which Goethe was for a short time an official, sat at Wetzlar. There was a definite area of territory, in which all the various German states were included, known as the Empire. When, however, Napoleon began to annex huge pieces of these states and even to suppress some altogether, it was recognised that the Empire no longer had any real existence. Francis II. accordingly abdicated in 1806 from the Holy Roman Empire (or Empire of Germany as it was often loosely

called), but continued as monarch of Austria under the new title of "Emperor of Austria."

This dissolution of the Empire came about in the following manner: At the Treaty of Lunéville, made between France and Austria in 1801, the whole left bank of the Rhine had been recognised as being annexed to France. It is true that large territories on the left bank were not Austrian, but belonged to other states of the Empire—to Baden, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Hesse-Cassel, as well as to ecclesiastical rulers like the Archbishops of Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne. Accordingly, in the Treaty of Lunéville it was stipulated that the hereditary princes (not the ecclesiastical) who were to be dispossessed of their territories on the left bank should be compensated with territories on the right bank of the Rhine. The Imperial Diet of Ratisbon therefore appointed a "deputation" of eight members to draft a scheme of territorial compensation. But the real draft was made in Paris, and it was conceived in the brain of First Consul Bonaparte. There was no common policy among the states of the Empire; their rulers, all greedily competing for territorial gains in the general distribution which they expected to take place, and dazzled or cowed by the

successes of the French armies, were in no mind to dispute Bonaparte's scheme. A sort of market for provinces was established at Paris, where the agents of the German rulers bribed Bonaparte's Ministers to use their influence in assigning transfers of territory. But Bonaparte himself was not open to bribes; he made and unmade rulers, joined and disjoined territories, according to the idea of perfect politics within him.

Confusion and inefficiency were hateful to him; wherever he saw things crooked and untidy his instinct was to make them straight. So when the victory of Marengo, the terms of the Treaty of Lunéville, and the meeting of a powerless Imperial Diet and Deputation at Ratisbon gave him the opportunity, he used it to smooth away some—it was impossible to deal with all—of the territorial disharmonies and inconsistencies of the Empire.

This Empire, Germany, consisted at this time of ninety-five secular rulers, seventy-four ecclesiastical rulers, fifty-one Free Imperial Cities, and almost one thousand Free Imperial Knights. The knights, each of whom had dominion over only a few square miles of territory, for the most part escaped in the extinctions and distributions of the

tem. Throughout these years the relations with France were the dominating themes of conversation in the salons of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Although the huge nobility talked French, it was deeply divided into opposing parties—those for and those against the French alliance. Meanwhile the dreamy, sweet-mannered Tsar went on with committees for judicial and military reform. He met Napoleon once more, at Erfurt (in 1808), and seemed pleased to ride out with the French Emperor and to go to the theatre with him. But relations were really becoming very strained.

In Germany a renaissance was in train. Of this renaissance Prussia was the practical leader, although Saxe-Weimar was, perhaps, its spiritual centre. There, in the city of Weimar, Goethe lived, a veritable literary dictator, through all the Napoleonic period. As the greatest man of letters of the age, Goethe, although he took no part in politics, helped to give all the Germans a sense of their common race, their common heritage of culture and history. Another national figure and interpreter of the German spirit, was Jean Paul Richter, a Bavarian by birth—satirical, ironical, poetical, sentimental, a poet in prose. *Quintus Fixlein*, a sentimental romance published in 1796,

shows the deep spirit of Germany sighing for peace. After 1801 Jean Paul settled down as a married man at Baireuth. From 1808 to 1812 he devoted much of his writings to patriotic subjects.

Indeed, in these critical years following 1807 or 1808 all the best minds of Germany were directing their thought, their energy, to one thing—to training the nation for the expulsion of the French. After the awful shock and catastrophe of the Battle of Jena a brief period of demoralisation ensued in Prussia. Much of the country, including Berlin, was occupied by French garrisons. People seemed to give up hope for this world and the next; they ate, drank, and played. In Berlin for some months or longer an orgy of pleasure was held. But men of good will and stalwart heart, singly or in co-operation, soon began quietly, deliberately, thoroughly, to rebuild the fabric of the national life. Freiherr von Stein, originally a Free Imperial Knight of the country of Nassau, became Minister of State to Frederick William III. of Prussia in 1807. He saw that the old rigid social and administrative system, which had produced the catastrophe of Jena, must now give way. He carried through two great reforms: one by the emancipation of the serfs in 1807,

the other by the establishing of municipal institutions for all the larger Prussian towns in 1808.

Prussia before the Jena catastrophe had three universities—Königsberg, Frankfurt on the Oder, and Halle. Königsberg, since the death of Kant in 1804, had no great teacher, and was too remote to attract the best professors or students. The University of Frankfurt on the Oder was a struggling institution and soon disappeared altogether. Halle did not belong to Prussia after 1807, being given by Napoleon to the Kingdom of Westphalia. But in the depths of the Prussian national depression the Minister of Education, Wilhelm von Humboldt, induced Frederick William III. to found a new university at Berlin, in the heart of Brandenburg, the centre of the monarchy. It was opened in 1809, with some of the greatest names in Europe among its professors: Schleiermacher, the leading Protestant theologian; Savigny, eminent in the study of Roman law and jurisprudence, and Fichte, philosopher and political scientist. This last fervent teacher was a Saxon who came to Berlin after Jena with a mission to regenerate the national life of North Germany. He opened a lecture-room and soon attracted all Berlin to hear his lofty discourses and addresses. When

the University of Berlin was opened, Fichte accepted the Chair of Philosophy and continued his inspiring lectures on the State, citizenship, politics, economics; and everything he said was pervaded by the spirit of service for the nation. The Prussian Government was so liberal and far-sighted as to send some of its most promising young men—future officials—to Pestalozzi's new school at Yverdon.

While the national spirit was being raised by literature and education, the Prussian War Office, guided by Major Scharnhorst, was using the restricted Prussian Army (Napoleon limited it by treaty to 40,000 men) in such a way that a continual flow of short-service men went through the ranks and then passed out into civilian life as a trained reserve. Outside the army, physical drill and gymnastics became the occupation of the leisure hours of boys and young men. Otto Jahn (1778-1852), a native of Halle, was the great teacher of gymnastics. He had a school for this in Berlin, and other schools or gymnastic clubs were formed all over Germany. The whole country was riddled with secret societies, the greatest of which was the *Tugendbund*, or League of Virtue, which existed as a sort of debating society—

for patriotic, political, anti-French objects—in every German university. Napoleon despised, hated, and a little feared the *Tugendbund*, but was unable to stamp it out. Nobody knew how or when the chance for freedom would come; but whenever it should arrive Germany was ready.

The old Habsburg monarchy was adopting new ways too. Philip von Stadion, a nobleman of lofty and tolerant mind, became chief Minister to the Emperor in 1805, after the disaster of Austerlitz. For four years he worked to make Austria capable of defying Napoleon again. With the aid of the Archduke Charles the army was reformed; regiments were raised on a territorial basis, and officers, drawn from the same region as the men, were placed at their head. Some discretionary power was given to the leaders; the heavy and deadening hand of the bureaucracy was a little relaxed.

Between Russia, Austria, and Prussia a new or restored State was established in 1807. This was the Duchy of Poland. The old kingdom or republic, as it was often called (for it had only an elective crown) had been tremendously whittled down by the Partition of 1772 (shared by Russia, Austria, and Prussia only), by the Second Parti-

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tion of 1793, and by the Partition of 1795, when the Three Powers extinguished the State of Poland outright. Napoleon, by the Treaties of Tilsit, made a Duchy of Warsaw out of the Polish provinces which Prussia had acquired at the Second and Third Partitions. The Duke was the Elector (after 1807, King) of Saxony. The restored Poland, or Duchy of Warsaw, in its brief existence (1807-1813) had a not uninteresting history. Warsaw once more took on something of the appearance of a great capital, and but for the incessant demands of Napoleon for troops the Duchy might have been happy enough.

Switzerland, by an Act of Mediation, negotiated between Napoleon and leading Swiss politicians in 1803, was organised as a Confederation of Nineteen Cantons under French protection. Geneva, formerly a free city, had been annexed to France in 1798. It continued, however, to be a centre for French-Swiss culture. Two brothers of the eminent Genevese family of Pictet edited a review called the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, which was able to keep within the censorship and yet to give a reasonable amount of information about Great Britain. Those were the great days of the reviews—the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*.

Down to the end of the Napoleonic period the *Bibliothèque Britannique* was a recognised international organ throughout the continent of Europe.

Italy, although it was awakening to a vigorous national life, was wholly under French control. The Cisalpine Republic became the Kingdom of Italy in 1804, with the Emperor Napoleon as King and his step-son, Eugène Beauharnais as Regent. The capital of the kingdom was Milan, where Eugène kept up something of a court, and where Italian nobles and men of letters congregated.

In 1805 Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's elder and most sensible and moderate brother, was made King of Naples and Sicily. The British Navy, however, saved Sicily for the legitimate Neapolitan King, Ferdinand I. Joseph proved a good sovereign of Naples, which in the country districts was the most backward part of all Italy. He made some roads and built some schools before he was succeeded by Joachim Murat on the Neapolitan throne in 1808.

Between the "Kingdom of Italy" in the north and the Kingdom of Naples in the south were the former Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the

Papal States. For a time, after the Concordat of 1801, Pope Pius VII. maintained some show of independence. In 1804 he consented to go to Paris, and was present at the coronation of Napoleon in Notre Dame, although he was not allowed to crown the Emperor. Napoleon wanted Pius VII., when he went back to Rome, to close his ports to British ships. The Pope tried to avoid this. In 1807 the last of the Royal House of Stuart, the Cardinal Henry of York, died at Rome. Napoleon said regretfully: "If the Stuarts had left only a child of eight years, I would have placed him on the throne of Great Britain!" In 1808 the Emperor sent a French general to occupy Rome with troops. In 1809 he annexed the Papal States outright, and Pius VII. was taken off to captivity at Savona. In the previous year Tuscany had been annexed to France. Thus all Italy was in French hands, either directly annexed, as were Tuscany and the Papal States, or personally united, as was the Kingdom of Italy (former Cisalpine Republic), or in the hands of a French prince, as was the Kingdom of Naples.

The only state on the mainland which was completely free from French influence was Turkey. The Sultan Mahmoud II. refused to accede to

the Continental System. He had much to contend against, for Alexander of Russia went to war with him in 1809; in 1805 the Serbs rose under Milosh Obrenovich and Klara George, and won freedom; and Ali, Pasha of Janina, nominally a Turkish governor, made himself practically independent. Byron visited Ali in Albania in 1809, and enjoyed his stay enormously. Great Britain did a great deal of trade with Central and Eastern Europe through Turkish ports, when most of the rest of the Continent was closed.

The Iberian Peninsula was to be Napoleon's great failure. He could do what he liked with the effete Charles IV. of Spain. Portugal, however, absolutely refused to have anything to do with the Continental System, and remained faithful to the English alliance. In September and October, 1807, Napoleon sent General Junot with French troops through Spain into Portugal, and drove out the royal family, which took ship, convoyed by a British squadron, to the colony of Brazil. In May, 1808, the Emperor invited Charles IV. of Spain and Ferdinand, the heir, to meet him at Bayonne. There both father and son were persuaded to resign all their rights over the Spanish Crown, which was then passed on to Joseph

Bonaparte. So Joseph left Naples, where he was not unhappy, and went to his new throne at Madrid, where he never had a day's peace.

Although Europe had scarcely any rest between 1792 and 1815, the wars never occupied the whole attention or energy of the peoples, for armies were still largely professional, and where battles were not being fought ordinary life went on almost undisturbed. Literature flourished in many cities, and the price of living continued fairly stable. But there was a *malaise* everywhere, a feeling of restraint, of living under a perpetual doom of tyranny or war. The dawn did not come until 1813.

X

THE TURN OF THE TIDE .

As has happened in other long-enduring struggles, a prospect, that year after year appeared to be hopeless, suddenly changed to one of unbounded optimism. It was the Moscow campaign that seemed to alter everything, as in the twinkling of an eye.

Actually a hole was being steadily drilled into the apparently firm structure of the Napoleonic Empire for years before the Moscow Expedition. This hole was in the west, in the Iberian Peninsula, where Napoleon, thrusting his power far beyond France's natural western frontier, the Pyrenees, had made his brother Joseph king. The Spaniards had risen against the alien monarch. A French corps, commanded by General Dupont, had been attacked and compelled to lay down its arms at Baylen in July, 1808. After this the French never had any rest in the Peninsula. Ceaselessly guerilla

*Note:
due to
Peninsular
war*

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bands carried on a deadly slow war of attrition; and a powerful British army, led by a man of stern character and high military genius, brought the hammer-blows of war on the grand scale against the mass of the French power.

The British people had been trying ever since hostilities started in 1793 to find a place on land where they could come to grips with the French. But the two Great Powers—one supreme on the land and the other on the sea—could not join issue. Napoleon could not land upon England nor on Ireland, nor could he invade India by way of Egypt and the Red Sea. The British failed in their attempts to invade France through Toulon, through Brittany, or through Flanders. But Napoleon's mistake of extending his power into Spain and Portugal gave the British their chance. Portugal, one of the weakest of European states, spurned the decrees of the French Emperor and defied his great armies. The British came to the assistance of their ancient ally. Wellesley landed in Mondego Bay in August, 1808, and having the British Navy behind him to give him a base and communications with home, he maintained a war for four years, which brought him at last on the highroad to Paris.

to attack
on land

For months, indeed for years, perhaps until nearly the end of 1811, the war in the Peninsula was looked upon by many people in Britain as a hopeless waste of blood and treasure. The battles were in these years all costly and all indecisive. Vimiero (August, 1808) resulted in the evacuation of Portugal by the French, but they were back again two years later. Sir John Moore penetrated deeply into Spain, but he, too, had to retreat, and was killed at the battle of Corunna (January, 1809). Wellesley (or Wellington, to give him his later title) invaded Spain up the Tagus Valley, and won the battle of Talavera (July, 1809), but next year he was back in Portugal, on the defensive, holding the lines of Torres Vedras in front of Lisbon. Not until April, 1812, did he capture from the French the great Spanish frontier fortress of Badajos; in January, 1812, he had taken the other important frontier fortress, Ciudad Rodrigo. After this all went well; in July, 1812, Wellington won the battle of Salamanca, and was on the way towards the frontiers of France.

The war in the Peninsula, as it were, kept the banner of freedom flying, and proved that the French Empire was not invulnerable. In 1809 it heartened the Austrians, whom lofty patriotism

*French had
to
retreat*

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*Aust. vs
Napoleon.*

and the Archduke Charles' military reforms had been preparing for a new effort, to start their fourth war against Napoleon. Again the unfortunate people were beaten, although they came nearer to success than ever before. Just failing to defeat Napoleon at Aspern and Essling (May, 1809), they received a tremendous blow at the battle of Wagram (July); and once more the French victor dictated terms of peace from a palace in Vienna. After this the Austrians seemed to sink back into feebleness. They even accepted Napoleon's friendship. Stadion, implacable opponent of the French Empire, was replaced in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the supple young diplomatist, Metternich. Napoleon wanted a grand marriage to put the seal of legitimacy on his Grand Empire. Metternich advised the Emperor of Austria to accept Napoleon's overtures for the hand of a Habsburg princess. Josephine had been divorced in December, 1809. In March, 1810, the Archduchess Marie Louise was married to Napoleon.

Yet in spite of this regularisation of the rule of the French Emperor, by his reception into the caste and kinship of European monarchs, Napoleon's position was not secure. Great Brit-

ain was still in the field inflexibly against him, and the Emperor of Russia was becoming distinctly cool. The Continental System was working badly; the self-blockade of Continental Europe was full of breaches and leakages. Besides, the Tsar Alexander, his nobility, and his merchants, who had observed the restrictions of the System loyally enough for about four years, could, by December, 1810, bear it no longer. At the end of 1810 a Ukase of the Tsar considerably relaxed the rules so far as they were to be observed by Russia. For eighteen months a somewhat uneasy peace prevailed, the Tsar growing more and more suspicious of Napoleon's relations with the Poles and of his patronage of the Duchy of Warsaw.

Napoleon, as usual, did not wait to be attacked. He resolved to begin war himself and to carry it into the heart of Russia. He would dictate terms in Moscow; he seems to have even thought that his last step was to be taken—he would conquer Russia, India, Great Britain, the world. "In five years," he had remarked to one of his officials in 1811, "I shall be master of the world; there only remains Russia, but I shall crush it."

On June 24, 1812, the Grand Army of over

500,000 men crossed the Niemen (or Memel) into Russian territory. Everything seemed to be in its favour; its own strength was unexampled; its right was secured by an Austrian army in Galicia; its left by a Prussian army invading the Russian Baltic provinces; for so abject were the Austrian and Prussian Governments that they had accepted military alliance with their conqueror.

The Grand Army advanced, and nothing could withstand it. The Russian armies fought and retired. Napoleon offered terms; no answer—Alexander steadily refused to negotiate. Onward marched the French. On September 14 Moscow itself was occupied. Once more Napoleon was in the great city of a conquered foe, dictating orders in the ancestral palace of his adversary. Still no answer from Alexander to his overtures. Time passed. Moscow burned. Supplies of food were obtainable, but not easily. Napoleon fretted. On October 14 the Grand Army marched out of Moscow again, homeward. On November 4 light flakes began to settle on the soldiers' shakos and epaulettes. *Il neigeait; on était vaincu par sa conquête*—"It snowed; they were vanquished by their conquest."—(Victor Hugo).

XI

THE RECOVERY OF EUROPE

WITH the failure of the Moscow expedition the Governments and peoples of Continental Europe suddenly became aware that their deliverance was near, if only they would make a powerful concerted effort, and go through the agony of yet one more fierce and costly struggle. The years since Jena and Wagram had given the peoples of Germany time to take breath and recuperate. The long preparation of the men who raised the spirit of Prussia and organised her forces in spite of French military occupation now bore fruit. When, on December 4, 1812, the broken remains of the Grand Army made its way across the Berezina, the peoples of Central Europe were ready. Napoleon saw the storm coming and left his army and hastened onward to Paris to gather fresh armies for the struggle. On December 30, General von York, commanding the Prussian army

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in Lithuania (in retreat, like his allies, the French) made on his own responsibility the Convention of Tauroggen with the Russian General Diebitsch, and entered into neutrality. "It may cost me my old head," he remarked. Frederick William III. did not dare at the moment to throw off his alliance with the French, but it was as good as ended.

It is still possible to catch an echo of the shout that went through Germany when the collapse of the Grand Army was known. As in a moment of religious revival, of spiritual exaltation, youths left school and college, the cultivator quitted his land, the craftsman his workshop, all flocking to the standards, which, still secretly, were being raised in Germany.

On January 27, 1813, Frederick William III. took the fateful decision. Secretly hurrying away from Berlin, which was still occupied by French troops, he joined the Tsar in Posen. The Treaty of Kalisch, made at the Russian headquarters on February 27, bound Prussia and Russia together in military alliance, and began the War of Liberation. The British Government, in which the Foreign Office was now directed by the firm-minded Lord Castlereagh, had its representative at Allied Headquarters, able to contribute not indeed men,

on this front, but money, indispensable for the exhausted military chests of Russia and Prussia. In the Western theatre of war, Wellington's army was now approaching the Pyrenees. In addition to the military forces against Napoleon came a spiritual arm. Pius VII., brought in captivity from Savona to Fontainebleau, broken in health, beset by harsh French officialdom on every side, first surrendered to Napoleon's demands, then regretting it, immediately gathered such strength as his old body and mind had still left, and rejected the Emperor's terms (March 24, 1813). Napoleon could keep the Pope prisoner, but he had gained the ill-will of all good Catholics.

The only Great Power not actively in the field against Napoleon in the spring of 1813 was Austria, still nominally in alliance with the French Empire. But already in January (1813) the Austrian commander in the Galician theatre, Prince Schwarzenberg, had made an armistice with the Russian Commander-in-Chief, Kutusov. When spring came, Russian and Prussian armies were fighting in Eastern Germany. The Austrian Chancellor, Metternich, offered "good offices"; later he offered mediation—*armed mediation*, backed by an Austrian force sufficient to make

Aust. w/ Pr

his recommendations respected. Napoleon disliked the notion of an armed mediator. At the end of March, the Russian and Prussian armies, fighting their way westwards, entered Dresden, the capital of Saxony, Napoleon's last real ally. On May 2, Napoleon met the Russo-Prussian armies at Lützen, and gained an indecisive victory, costly to both sides. On May 20 he won another victory at Bautzen and reoccupied Dresden. On August 26 he gained still another victory; just managing to hold his main positions, he yet lost so heavily that every "victory" brought him nearer to destruction. By this time his doom was really sealed, for on August 12, Metternich had thrown off the mask and issued the Austrian declaration of war. Austrian troops took part in the battle of Dresden.

The rest of the year 1813 saw Napoleon's armies being steadily forced back to the Rhine. The great battle near Leipzig (October 16-19)—the "Battle of the Nations"—was not even a nominal victory for the French. The armies of Bavaria and Saxony passed over to the Allies' side. Jerome vanished from the Kingdom of Westphalia, which vanished, too, from the face of Germany like mist before the sun. The Confederation of the Rhine

dissolved into its elements. The Allies reached Frankfurt. Blücher with his Prussians took Coblenz and Mainz, and so was able to cross the Rhine; the Austrians and Russians took a route through the corner of Switzerland. Napoleon still hoped, fighting on internal lines, to defeat his antagonists in detail, and out of their mutual differences (for their aims were not all alike) to gain some sort of patched-up peace. But Castlereagh was now at Allied Headquarters (since January, 1814). Steady, constant, persuasive, unselfish, he kept the Allied "diplomatic front" unbroken. Still the final event seemed uncertain. Napoleon gained some victories on French soil around Laon in March, 1814. Negotiations were in progress at Châtillon, and Napoleon might still have obtained terms if he could have brought himself to renounce the conquests of the French. But no! he might gain another victory and thus retain at least Antwerp. So the sands ran out. On March 9, Castlereagh's great plan at last was perfected; all the fighting Powers arrayed against France signed a general Agreement to make no separate terms with Napoleon and to prosecute the war to a finish (Treaty of Chaumont, ante-dated as March 1, 1814). "Thus, when Napoleon

was winning victories, and when the coalition looked as if it was breaking up, Castlereagh raised against him the solid wall of Europe.”

Three days after the signature of the Treaty of Chaumont, Wellington, who knew very little about the Allies' doings in the east of France, entered Bordeaux. France was beset by foreign armies converging on Paris from both sides. On March 30 the Allied armies were at Montmartre, the hill outside Paris; on the 31st they entered the city. Talleyrand and the Senate declared the establishment of a Provisional Government preparatory to the return of King Louis XVIII. On April 4, Napoleon, who was at Fontainebleau with about 30,000 men and a few faithful but wholly disillusioned marshals, abdicated and accepted the Allies' terms. Soult and Wellington, unaware of this, were still fighting; their last battle took place before Toulouse on April 10. On the following day Napoleon signed his last treaty, renouncing for himself and his successors sovereignty over France and over all his former conquests, and retiring to Elba on a pension of two million francs.

EPILOGUE

WHEN the Napoleonic Empire was dissolved, and when he himself departed to Elba, his immediate influence passed away from Europe. It was impossible indeed for the victors in the Peace Treaties of Paris and Vienna to treat the Continent as a slate, and by passing a sponge over it to wipe away all the marks of the great things which happened between 1792 and 1814. Yet outwardly this was done in many, although not in all, regions. The Bourbons were restored to the French throne, and the boundaries of France were put back, except at certain points, to their lines of 1792. In Italy all the old sovereigns were restored, including the Pope to his Temporal Power, as they had existed before the great war. Austria even regained Lombardy; but the Republic of Genoa did not recover its independence (being given by the Allies to the Kingdom of Sardinia), nor did Venice, which was annexed to Austria. The Belgian provinces which had been Austrian

before the war were united to Holland, the whole being called the Kingdom of the Netherlands, with the Prince of Orange as King. Norway was taken from Denmark and united to the Swedish Crown.

The greatest marks of the Napoleonic Era in Germany were left unaltered. The old Holy Roman Empire was not re-established, nor were the hundreds of petty rulers, dispossessed in 1803 and 1806, restored to their sovereignties. They continued to exist merely as a royal caste of monarchs, without territories, called "mediatised" princes. The political map of Germany, simplified as Napoleon had simplified it, was taken as the natural and inevitable thing. The thirty-eight remaining states, including Austria and Prussia, were each regarded as independent, but were federated in 1815 into the *Bund*, a loose union with a Diet or Assembly of the States, of which Austria was always to be president.

The Duchy of Warsaw was done away with, and Poland was divided again between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. On the whole, small states, unless they were held by an ancient monarchy, did not fare very well in the reconstruction of 1814-15; but Switzerland received sympathetic

treatment, was recognised as a republican Confederation with three additional Cantons (including Geneva), making twenty-two in all, and was declared to be perpetually neutral.

The restoration and reconstruction of Europe was embodied in three main treaties. The First Peace of Paris, May 30, 1814, settled the boundaries of France as they had been in 1792, and recognised the restoration of Louis XVIII. The Treaty of Vienna, June 9, 1815, signed at the conclusion of a great Congress of Powers, held at Vienna, made the territorial arrangements for Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, the Poles. The work of the Congress had been disturbed, but not interrupted, by the escape of Napoleon from Elba and his descent upon France on March 1, 1815. The brief, restored "French Empire" collapsed at Waterloo, June 18, 1815. After this the Bourbons were for the second time restored to France, and Napoleon was sent to St. Helena. The Second Peace of Paris, November 20, 1815, imposed a small indemnity and some territorial losses (Chambéry, the Saar) upon France for having inflicted on the Allies the war of 1815. At the Second Peace of Paris the Allies bound themselves together

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to meet from time to time in conference, as Alexander of Russia had already, by the Holy Alliance of September 26, 1815, arranged that the chief monarchs personally should do. Thus, Europe came out of the period of great war with an affirmed respect for the Law of Nations, which Napoleon had violated, and with a system of "Concert" which secured peace for over thirty years.

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Many of the prominent marshals of Napoleon or their relatives wrote memoirs, such as Soult, Macdonald, Madame Junot.

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